

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 10032

EXDIS

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TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS - MEETING WITH
BITSIOS

1. LAST NIGHT I HAD LONG PRIVATE MEETING WITH FORMIN
BITSIOS WHO HAD BEEN ILL WITH HEAVY COLD SINCE
HIS RETURN FROM BRUSSELS. EVEN SO, HE WAS STILL QUITE
HAPPY -- ALMOST ELATED -- OVER THE RESULTS OF HIS
MEETINGS THERE LAST WEEK. BITSIOS TOLD ME THAT HE HAD
VERY MUCH APPRECIATED THE HELP OF THE SECRETARY AND
"OTHER FRIENDS" (PRINCIPALLY, I GATHER, THE GERMAN,
FRENCH AND BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTERS) IN ACHIEVING WHAT
HAD BEEN THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE,
NAMELY, A GREEK-TURKISH AGREEMENT ON THE RESUMPTION
OF CYPRUS INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS ON A BASIS THAT MADE
A SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION POSSIBLE.

2. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTIONING AND IN SUM, BITSIOS
SAID HIS BILATERAL MEETING WITH CAGLAYANGIL HAD GONE
UNEXPECTEDLY WELL. THEY HAD PICKED UP, BOTH
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SUBSTANTIVELY AND PERSONALLY, WHERE THEY HAD LEFT OFF

LAST SPRING AFTER THEIR SUCCESSFUL MEETING IN ROME--
AND AFTER WHAT HAD PROVED TO BE A LONG, STERILE
SUMMER AND FALL FULL OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND RECRIMINATIONS.
THEY SPENT MOST OF THEIR LONG BILATERAL MEETING
DISCUSSING CYPRUS AND REVIEWING THEIR RESPECTIVE AND
ALREADY WELL-KNOWN POSITIONS. AFTER MANY EXPLANATIONS
AND CLARIFICATIONS THEY FINALLY REACHED THE
AGREEMENT FOR RESUMING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS THAT HAS
NOW BEEN MADE KNOWN.

3. BITSIOS SAID THAT HE AND CAGLAYANGIL DID NOT
REPEAT NOT DISCUSS THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT A CYPRUS SETTLE-
MENT WOULD BE. THAT WOULD BE UP TO CLERIDES AND
DENKTASH TO NEGOTIATE. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE TURKISH
GOVERNMENT AND CAGLAYANGIL ALREADY KNOW VERY WELL WHAT
THE GREEKS ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT AND THEY KNOW ALSO THAT
THE GOG HAS MAKARIOS COMMITTED TO AND AGREED GREEK
POSITION IF A "PACKAGE" SETTLEMENT CAN BE NEGOTIATED --
BIZONAL, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WITH LIMITED POWERS,
AND WITH A TURKISH ZONE OF "LESS THAN 25 PERCENT."
(PROTECT ESPECIALLY: BITSIOS SAID THAT THE
SECRETARY SEEMED TO BE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT MAKARIOS
HAD AGREED IN HELSINKI THAT THE TURKISH ZONE COULD BE
AS LARGE AS 28 PERCENT, BUT HE SAID THAT THAT WAS NOT
HIS UNDERSTANDING AND THAT HE INTENDED TO CLARIFY
THIS POINT WITH MAKARIOS).

4. BITSIOS SAID THAT MAKARIOS CONTINUES TO FEEL
REQUIRED TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM TIME TO TIME --
AS HE DID AGAIN JUST A FEW DAYS AGO TO A GERMAN
NEWSPAPER (NICOSIA'S 3496) -- ABOUT THE RETURN OF
REFUGEES TO THE NORTHERN ZONE OF CYPRUS AND OTHER
SUCH MATTERS. BITSIOS SAID HE TOLD CAGLAYANGIL -- AND
WAS NOW TELLING US -- THAT WE SHOULD NOT GIVE EXCESSIVE
IMPORTANCE TO SUCH PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY MAKARIOS.
WE MUST ALL UNDERSTAND MAKARIOS POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS
ON THE ISLAND. BITSIOS SAID THAT MAKARIOS IS FULLY
COMMITTED -- AND IN WRITING -- TO THE AGREED GREEK
POSITION FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND THAT MAKARIOS
KNOWS THAT THE GOG WILL NOT ALLOW HIM TO RENEGE ON IT.
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5. DESIRED FRAMEWORK FOR INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS:
BITSIOS SAID THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT
THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS HELD IN NICOSIA WHERE THE
ODDS AGAINST THEM SUCCEEDING WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY
INCREASED. MAKARIOS HOWEVER WANTS THEM IN NICOSIA SO THAT
HE CAN CONTROL THEM MORE CLOSELY. DENKTASH ALSO WANTS
THEM IN NICOSIA BECAUSE HE FEELS STRONGER AND LESS

EXPOSED TO OUTSIDE PRESSURES -- OTHER THAN
TURKISH PRESSURES -- THERE. HOWEVER, BITSIOS
THOUGHT THE TALKS SHOULD BE HELD IN NEW YORK,
GENEVA, OR AS A LAST RESORT, VIENNA, WHICH HAD NOT
PROVED TO BE SUCH A CONSTRUCTIVE AND LUCKY SITE.
BITSIOS ALSO THOUGHT IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
FOR WALDHEIM TO LEND THE PRESTIGE AND AUTHORITY OF
HIS OFFICE TO THE NEGOTIATION BY PRESIDING
PERSONALLY AND "MODERATING" THE DISCUSSIONS. IF
WALDHEIM COULD NOT BE PRESENT ON A CONTINUOUS BASIS
HE COULD TEMPORARILY BE REPLACED BY UNDER SECY GENERAL
URQUHART OR PERHAPS AN ASSISTANT SYG WITH LONG-TIME
EXPERIENCE ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN NEW YORK.
BITSIOS THOUGHT WALDHEIM SHOULD PROPOSE THE NEGOTIATING SITE
AND A DATE -- PROBABLY IN JANUARY -- FOR THE
TALKS TO BEGIN. HOWEVER, BITSIOS STRESSED, WALDHEIM
SHOULD NOT SPECIFY AN ENDING DATE THIS TIME.
BITSIOS SAID THAT CLERIDES AND DENKTASH MUST BE
REQUIRED THIS TIME TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS AND
PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS, IF NECESSARY WORKING ON
A CONTINUOUS 7-DAY A WEEK BASIS FROM EARLY IN THE
MORNING UNTIL LATE IN THE EVENING -- "THE WAY WE
WORK." TOO MANY OTHERS HAD SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST IN A SETTLE-
MENT TO ALLOW CLERIDES AND DENKTASH TO ADOPT THEIR
LEISURELY RHYTHM OF PAST MONTHS AND YEARS, MEETING
ONLY EVERY 2-3 WEEKS AND HAVING PRESS CONFERENCES ON THE
ISLAND BEFORE AND AFTER EVERY SESSION.

6. BITSIOS SAID WE MUST ALL UNDERSTAND THAT DENKTASH
WOULD WANT THE TALKS TO BREAK DOWN. DENKTASH HAS HIS
OWN DREAMS AND AMBITIONS FOR HIMSELF AND THEY WOULD
NOT BE SERVED BY THE KIND OF SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION
WHICH BITSIOS SAID WAS NOW FAVORED BY BOTH THE GREEK
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AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS, NOT TO MENTION THE ALLIES
AND FRIENDS OF BOTH. THEREFORE, WHEN CLERIDES MADE
A PROPOSAL AT THE TALKS IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL THAT
WALDHEIM NOT ALLOW DENKTASH TO REJECT IT OUT-OF-HAND
AND TERMINATE THE NEGOTIATIONS ABRUPTLY. DENKTASH
SHOULD BE MADE TO MAKE COUNTERPROPOSALS. THEN THE
SYG AND HIS STAFF COULD BE USED -- AS THEY HAVE
SO MANY TIMES IN OTHER NEGOTIATIONS -- TO IDENTIFY POINTS OF
AGREEMENT AND POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT, REDUCING THEM
TO WRITING, AND TRYING TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCES.
AT THAT TIME ALL WHO HAVE A MAJOR STAKE IN THE
SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS -- THE
GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS AND THEIR PRINCIPAL
ALLIES -- CAN WORK BEHIND THE SCENES AND ON THE
MARGIN OF THE TALKS TO PRESS THE PARTIES AND PUSH

THEM AHEAD TOWARDS AGREEMENT.

7. BITSIOS SAID THAT HE AND CAGLAYANGIL AGREED IN BRUSSELS THAT THE AIM OF THE TALKS WOULD BE A "PACKAGE DEAL." THERE WOULD BE NO PRE-PUBLICATION BY EITHER SIDE OF PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT ON ANY ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE. IF THERE WAS A LEAK AND ONE SIDE SEEMED TO BE ALLEGING THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON ONE ELEMENT OF THE PACKAGE -- SAY, A BIZONAL FEDERATION -- THE OTHER SIDE WOULD BE FREE, BY THIS PRE-AGREEMENT BETWEEN BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL, TO DENY THE ALLEGATION IMMEDIATELY, AND WITHOUT ANY CONSULTATION.

8. THUS, BITSIOS SAID, EVERYTHING SEEMS READY AND IN PLACE TO HAVE A SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION AND REACH A SETTLEMENT. HE SAID THAT THE GOG WILL UNDERTAKE AND BE ABLE TO ASSURE A CONSTRUCTIVE AND FORTH-COMING APPROACH BY MAKARIOS AND CLERIDES. HIS PRINCIPAL WORRIES ARE WHETHER DENKTASH CAN BE ADEQUATELY CONTROLLED OR WILL BE ALLOWED TO DISRUPT THE PROCEEDINGS, AND WHETHER WALDHEIM WILL PLAY A SUFFICIENTLY ACTIVE AND PROMINENT ROLE. BITSIOS INDICATED HE WAS SATISFIED THAT THE TURKISH GOVT WAS ALSO NOW READY TO NEGOTIATE THE SETTLEMENT-- FOR REASONS OF WHICH HE WAS NOT ENTIRELY SURE
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(TURKISH MILITARY PRESSURES, TURKISH INTERNAL POLITICAL DYNAMICS, INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES AND TURKISH DIPLOMATIC DEFEATS, ETC.).

9. BITSIOS CAUTIONED THAT WE SHOULD NOT, REPEAT NOT, GET INVOLVED IN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER GREEK AND TURKISH EXPERTS AND TECHNICIANS SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN, OR ASSOCIATED WITH, THE TALKS. HE SAID THIS WAS A VERY SENSITIVE POINT AND THAT CAGLAYANGIL PERSONALLY HAD STRUCK THE PARAGRAPH CONTAINING THE LANGUAGE ON THIS POINT FROM THEIR MESSAGE TO WALDHEIM. HE SAID THAT HE AND CAGLAYANGIL WERE IN TOUCH WITH WALDHEIM NOW AND EXPECTED THAT THE FINAL DETAILS AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS WOULD BE MADE WITHIN THE NEAR FUTURE.

10. BITSIOS AND I CONCLUDED THIS PORTION OF OUR DISCUSSION WITH HIM ASKING ME TO THANK THE SECRETARY AND THE USG ONCE AGAIN FOR ALL OUR UNDERSTANDING AND HELP ON THIS PROBLEM.
KUBISCH

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